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## CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE.

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Notes of the Week . . . . .   | 177  |
| EDITORIALS:   |      |
| Revolt in A Boss-ridden Commonwealth . . . . .  | 180  |
| Our Railroads as Oppressors of the Honest and Servitors of the Unscrupulous . . . . . | 182  |
| Wealth and Capital . . . . .  | 185  |
| BOOK REVIEWS:   |      |
| Literary Criticism in Theory and Practice . . . . .                                   | 188  |
| An Unfamiliar Wonderland . . . . .  | 189  |
| Dickens Redivivus . . . . .   | 189  |
| Briefer Notices . . . . .   | 190  |
| New Book Announcements . . . . .  | 191  |
| Publications Received . . . . .   | 192  |

## CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
 Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.  
 Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
 Opposition to Trusts.  
 Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.  
 Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

## NOTES OF THE WEEK.

THE American Government is carrying forward war preparations with undiminished zeal, and Spain is keeping pace with us in making preparation for war so far as her resources will permit. All this is evidence that the Cuban crisis loses nothing of its acuteness, that we are moving within the shadows of war, that, if anything, those shadows are darker and more ominous than a few days ago. Yet it is an obvious fact that

popular excitement has been somewhat allayed, that it does not burn with the same fever heat as it did a week ago. The cause that has thus, in a measure, chilled the war excitement seems to have been nothing more nor less than a paucity of news of stirring kind. No new developments in regard to the crisis have been unfolded, and the old developments and stirring incidents connected with the Maine disaster have been so threshed over that they fail to longer stir. And so it is that excitement has ceased to burn with the same feverish heat. It has died down from want of new fuel to burn.

That Mr. McKinley will soon interfere in Cuba and, in the name of humanity, put an end to the revolting struggle is universally believed by the American people. They anticipate such intervention, they are prepared for it and ready to accept the consequences. No rumblings of European disapproval, no protests of crowned heads will turn the American people from their purpose, their purpose to stop the slaughter in Cuba and make the Cubans free. The Emperor of Austria may express sympathy for the Spanish, so may the German Court and even the semi-official press of Russia. But for such expressions the American people care little. They will do what they feel to be right, what they feel it their duty to do without consulting any crowned head of Europe or the Jews of Paris or any other European capital. It is a question of justice with the American people, not a mere question of dollars and cents. If they had been moved by questions of trade and commerce they would have long since found justification for intervention and long since have intervened, for the war has cut a flourishing commerce between the United States and Cuba down to a mere shadow of its former self. But to protect mere selfish and property interests the American people have not felt called upon to intervene. It is to save life, out of a regard for the well being and happiness of our fellow men, from a purpose to alleviate the sufferings in Cuba, to save the helpless in Cuba from the continued scourge of war and famine that now stalks over the island that the American people purpose to intervene. It is a high and worthy purpose, a purpose that should be commended everywhere, a purpose that should be disapproved by no Christian man, whether prince or peasant.

ANY interference, on the part of European potentates, with the carrying out of such high purpose, the American people should not and, we believe, will not brook. The manner of our intervention in Cuba, the settling of the Cuban question is not the affair of Austria, though there may be close connection between the ruling houses of Austria and of Spain, it is not the affair of Germany, not the affair of Russia, not the affair of France, despite the interest that some Frenchmen may have as the holders of Spanish-Cuban bonds. No more can we recognize France as having a right to participate in the Cuban settlement because some Frenchmen hold Cuban bonds than we could recognize the right of Great Britain to interfere in our internal affairs because of the large investments British people have in our state and municipal bonds, in our railroads and industrial enterprises.

When such investments are made they are made for better or for worse; the British investor comes in on a par with the American to share in the ups and downs of fortune that the American meets. The British investor in America makes his investment prepared to accept the same treatment as the American investor, to get no better treatment or no worse. On no other conditions would we think of taking British capital even though we do put up with financial subserviency to Great Britain. The interference of the British Government in our domestic affairs, and with a view to protecting British investments, we would not tolerate for an instant. The British investor must be content with the same protection accorded to American investors. To greater protection he has no right. When he invests in America he invests under the protection of our laws, not British, our government, not that of Great Britain, he accepts the risks that may come with our government, he renounces the protection, all claim to the protection of Great Britain.

And so it is with the French Jews who hold Spanish-Cuban bonds. In investing in those bonds they bound up their fortunes with Spain, renounced all claim to French protection. They voluntarily accepted the risk of falling Spanish fortunes, and now that those fortunes have fallen they have no right to complain. They tied themselves up with Spanish fortunes for better or for worse, and now that it turns out for worse they must accept the consequences. They cannot rightly look to France for that protection they voluntarily renounced, when, to earn higher interest, they sent their money out of France, and France cannot rightly interfere on their behalf. Any interference on her part, and on such a plea, we cannot tolerate.

TO RECOGNIZE such assumed right would be to grant that a creditor nation has the right to occupy the territory and seize the revenues of any nation that may have been indebted to citizens of the creditor nation and defaulted in payments. It would be to grant that Great Britain has the right to seize any Central or South American republic which may have repudiated or defaulted on payments on its national debt if it happen that British investors hold the bonds, or some of the bonds, of such republic; it would be to grant that Britain has the right to collect moneys due her citizens by foreign countries, to grant that Britain would have a right, to occupy New York and collect the customs revenues should the United States Government default on interest payments upon its bonds, some of which might be held abroad; it would be to admit that Great Britain would have the right to forcibly seize our ports and our revenues to make good any losses to British investors caused by a state repudiating its debt. And this we can never admit. Yet it is only by the assertion of such a right that France can claim a right to participate in the settlement of the Cuban question.

It is true that strong nations have sometimes asserted such a right in their dealings with weak. It was on this plea, upon an assertion of this right, that the French, British and Spanish invaded Mexico during our Civil War, an invasion that was followed by the early withdrawal of the British and Spanish and the raising up of an empire by the French with the unfortunate Maximilian, brother of the Austrian Emperor, upon the throne. And only a few months ago we saw the somewhat strange spectacle of an Austrian man-of-war training her guns upon a Turkish town and threatening to demolish it unless a debt due an Austrian railroad syndicate was promptly paid. It was paid and thus an instance was given to the world of one nation forcibly collecting a debt due to its people by the citizens of another.

But such usurpations we need not take as precedents; such doctrine for the collection of debts we are not called upon to proclaim and recognize. On the contrary a proper regard for our own interests calls upon us to deny and refuse recognition to such a doctrine, a doctrine that denies that weak nations have a sovereignty that powerful must respect.

THE Cuban question is one to be settled by the United States, the Cuban Republic and Spain, these three and no more. These three the present struggle most gravely concerns, these three have greatest interest in the return of peace. And the direct material interest of the United States in such return is by no means small. As we have said it is not in the destruction of our material interests but in the destruction of human life that we find justification and the call for intervention. But our material interests in Cuba, and the losses entailed upon us by this war at our very shores, are by no means insignificant and if we were so disposed we could find in this injury of our material interests good reason to intervene.

Five years ago our annual trade with Cuba came to a value of something like \$100,000,000. In 1893 we imported from Cuba \$78,706,506 worth of produce and exported \$24,157,698 worth of goods to Cuba. Thus our total trade with Cuba during the fiscal year, 1893, reached a value of almost \$103,000,000, the high water mark of Cuban commerce. The next year the value of our Cuban commerce fell to \$95,000,000. During the last four months of the fiscal year, 1895, the Spanish had to contend with rebellion in Cuba and in the eastern provinces there was much destruction of property and cessation of industry, which soon spread over the island with the spread of the rebellion. Thus it was that the total trade of Cuba with the United States fell from \$95,000,000 in the fiscal year 1894, to \$65,000,000 in 1895, to \$47,000,000 in 1896, and \$26,000,000 in 1897.

In brief, as compared to the trade of 1893, our Cuban trade has been cut down to one-fourth of its old magnitude. This is a loss of business largely entailed by the war, though the shrinkage is in some measure due to the destruction of the reciprocity agreements effected under the McKinley tariff.

To what extent the destruction of the reciprocity agreements affected our trade with Cuba can be best indicated by a glance at the trade of that other Spanish West Indian possession, Puerto Rico, where there has been no rebellion and destruction of wealth such as has cut into the export trade of Cuba. Such a glance will show that our trade with Puerto Rico has fallen from about \$6,000,000 in 1893 to \$4,000,000 in 1897, or by one-third, while the shrinkage in our Cuban trade has fallen three-fourths. Our Puerto Rican trade is 66 per cent. of what it was in 1873, our Cuban trade but 25 per cent. The difference in the shrinkage points to the loss in Cuban business that can fairly be attributable to the war. That is to say, that of the shrinkage in Cuban trade of \$78,000,000 between the years 1893-1897, \$36,000,000 might very likely have occurred without war, been caused by the destruction of the reciprocity arrangements made under the McKinley law and by the shrinkage in the price of sugar, but \$40,000,000 of the shrinkage must be charged up to the war. That is the shrinkage in trade that the war cost us in 1897.

RUSSIAN encroachments on China seem to be going on unchecked. Indeed they appear to be uncheckable, for the Russians can advance into the Chinese empire and open trade from a side far distant from the sea coast, and where it is impossible for the British or anybody else to meet them in sufficient force to make effectual resistance. The completion of the Siberian railway, well into the center of Siberia already, enables the Russians to put troops in great numbers upon the north-western frontier of China and overrun Manchuria. If they push on into China from this quarter and carry the railroad forward with them, their advance will become irresistible, their position impregnable to attack.

It may be possible for the British to force the Russians to treat Port Arthur as an open port, but of what importance is the trade that may be opened through such a port as compared to the trade the Russians may sap and completely monopolize by entering China from the west? Clearly the importance of the entrance by way of Port Arthur pales into insignificance in comparison

with the entrance by way of the west, which the Russians control, and which control will enable them to maintain a monopoly over the trade of China opened from that side. From that side the Russians can develop the vast commercial wealth of China, they can hold for themselves the profits of such development, shut out British, French and German, shut out whomever they may choose from participation in the profits of this development. That the Russians will make full use of this opportunity is certain and so, while they prolong their squabbling with Britain and Japan over Port Arthur, it is very possible that they will be tightening their grasp upon the industrial development of China.

BUT it is not only this tactical advantage of position that Russia has in the far East over Great Britain. Not only is Russia strong in herself and her position, but she is strong in her allies, while Great Britain occupies a position of lonesomeness that compels her to turn to a once despised heathen nation for aid and comfort. France from necessity, Germany from inclination, will almost surely back up the Russians in their moves. Although demanding that the trade of China be opened equally to all nations, that when a port is occupied by one European nation it shall be opened to all the world, that when privileges of trading and development are given to one nation they shall be extended to all, Great Britain does not gain sympathy or promises of help, does not gain sympathy because of the desire of strong nations to secure special privileges, because of their belief that there will be greater chances for the building up of great fortunes if equal opportunities are not extended to all, because of the belief of the stronger nations that if there is no general opening of China to all, as Britain demands, opportunities to gather fortunes will not offer to the people of the lesser nations unable to force concessions, and that therefore the opportunities of gathering fortunes, of developing China, would be restricted and narrowed down to the citizens of the greater nations able to command of China concessions. And so the more powerful countries seem inclined to take part in the East against England.

THUS it is that England is made to feel her utter lonesomeness, and is exerting herself to gain the sympathy if not material support of the United States. And so, diplomatically, she proceeds to ingratiate herself by showing sympathy with us in our dispute in Spain, by rendering to us her moral support. Thus, as in the days of the Holy Alliance, we find Continental Europe arrayed against us, England giving us support. When President Monroe first enunciated the doctrine that an injury done to any American Republic by a European power was an injury done to us, that the United States would resent any effort of European monarchies to extend their system of government on this or the South American continent or spread their territorial possessions in the New World by conquest or colonization, England was the European power, and the only power, to give adhesion to this doctrine that has since born the name of the President who enunciated it. Indeed, the British Government prompted Mr. Monroe to make this declaration.

The Monroe doctrine was promulgated at a time when Spanish America had virtually achieved its independence, though such independence had not been recognized by Spain. It was promulgated after the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, Prussia and France had entered into a compact to help each other subdue any democratic rising and maintain absolutism, a compact known as the Holy Alliance. It was promulgated at a time when this alliance had given evidence of a purpose to lend aid to Spain in reconquering her revolted American colonies. And then it was that President Monroe gave solemn warning that if the Holy Alliance made any such move to crush out the Republics of Spanish America and re-establish absolutism in the New World the United States would go to the aid of such republics. And then it was that the British Government let it be known that in

such a struggle Britain's sympathy would be entirely on the side of the United States. The result was that the Holy Alliance desisted from its purpose to crush out liberty in the New World as well as in Europe.

NEEDLESS to say the friendship that England showed toward us in Monroe's time was not wholly unselfish. England befriended us in those days because the forming of the Holy Alliance had left her in a lonesome position, because she did not look upon that alliance with any friendly eye. And so to-day Britain's gushing friendship is not unselfish. She gives us sympathy because she wants sympathy, gives us moral support in our contest with Spain over Cuba because she wants our moral support in her contest with Russia over China, she would no doubt gladly give us material support if we come to blows with Spain if we would agree to go to her assistance in case she came to blows with Russia. Indeed the desirability of some such jug handled alliance is hinted at. For Britain it would undoubtedly be desirable. The making of such an alliance would be a great diplomatic stroke, a great achievement for British diplomacy. But for us such alliance which would bind us to give much, but that could give us nothing which we need, would be anything but desirable.

The making of such an alliance is not within the range of possibilities, but that a wave of emotion, of friendship for Great Britain, is passing over our people in response to the studied efforts that Great Britain is making to show sympathy and friendship for the United States there is no room for doubt. Sympathy begets sympathy and friendship friendship. But between the United States and Great Britain sympathy and friendship cannot grow while Britain is ruled in the interest of the money lords, cannot grow even though the United States is similarly ruled, for many will understand that the policy of Great Britain is to exalt money and degrade man, that policy will they hate and while Britain pursues that policy there will be hate of Great Britain, hate deep enough to prevent the drawing of any bands of sympathy and friendship. And then again when blood is spoken of as thicker than water and so working to promote such friendship let it be remembered that Americans are not of the same blood as Englishmen, that coursing through their veins is, indeed, a strain of English blood but also many strains of different kinds.

BETWEEN Saturday, February 19th, and Saturday, March 12th, the New York banks, or rather those of them that are members of the Clearing House, contracted their loans by \$29,000,000. This contraction fell mainly on Wall street, and yet we are told that Wall street has behaved in a perfectly assinine manner in rushing to sell stocks. Indeed we are assured that Wall street sold stocks merely because it was overwhelmed by a "pessimistic sentiment." But there was a more powerful force impelling sales than sentiment. That force was the call loan. The curtailing of loans to an amount of \$29,000,000 within three weeks forced a great liquidation of stocks. Men rushed to sell stocks not from mere sentiment but because they had to. Sentiment of course played a part, as it always does. It may have played some part in the calling of loans but the impelling cause of the calling of loans was the drawing down of the bank reserves by shipments of money to the west.

"There never was a more striking illustration," said the *New York Herald* last Monday, "than Wall street now presents of the axiom that sentiment is stronger than facts. Not in the memory of the present generation has there been a time when all economic conditions indicated general prosperity and favored expansion of enterprise and rising financial markets, but these go for naught in the presence of pessimistic sentiment." But as we have said it is liquidation forced by the calling of loans rather than sentiment that has caused stock prices to fall or drag.

And further, this calling of loans has been primarily forced by the drain of money from the New York banks into the interior and into channels of production, a drain caused by expansion of enterprise.

Now, it is all very true that returning conditions of general prosperity and expansion of enterprise must add to the real value of stock exchange securities by increasing the earnings of industrial plants and railroads and the dividends paid on stocks. But it is also true that a plethora of money in New York is more favorable to rising prices than any one thing, that a draining away of this plethora and a calling of loans made on stock exchange securities makes a condition as unfavorable to rising prices as the bear speculator could wish for. And returning prosperity, expansion of enterprise makes this drain, inevitably makes this condition so unfavorable to rising prices, so that the first effect of returning prosperity is prone to be to knock down prices on the stock exchanges. When the plethora of money is finally drawn away and the knocking down of prices by contraction and forced liquidation comes to an end, then prices commence to rise as earnings of railroad and other property increase, as dividends grow larger and the demand for investment greater.

THAT the demand for money in industrial channels has been increasing for some time and that this demand has lately made itself felt in the New York banks, with results portrayed above, there can be no doubt. Yet though there has been great expansion in some lines, especially iron and steel, the industrial situation is most unsatisfactory. There has come great expansion but not great prosperity, for prices have hung so persistently low that there has been and is, to most producers, but little margin of profit in production or none at all. This is especially true of the iron trade, a trade in which the revival has been most marked, a trade in which output has been increased by 50 per cent. Yet, despite this expansion, furnaces and iron mills are running without profit. And this suggests the question: Why should iron mills start up when they cannot earn a profit, indeed why should they be kept running? Under such conditions new mills will not be built, but old ones where capital is fixed, where depreciation goes on with the mill in idleness more rapidly than when working, where interest charges and taxes pile up whether the plant is running or not, will start up even though they cannot earn such charges, will start up if they can earn anything at all over and above the mere shop cost of production and which can be applied to lessening the dead drain of interest charges, for with the owners of such mills it is a question of losses not profits, not will there be profits from running the mill but will losses be greater with the mill idle or running.

Thus it is that idle mills start up the moment prices are high enough to cover the actual costs of production. And when there are enough of such idle mills thus ready to start up and thus starting up to supply the increased demand prices will be prevented from rising higher, prevented from rising high enough to enable the producers to earn interest charges, to say nothing of high enough so as to enable producers to make some profit for themselves. Indeed the tendency will be to depress prices a fraction not raise them. And this tendency is now making itself felt. Prices fall.

But it is quite evident that expansion of industry makes a demand for money and thus draws money away from the financial centers and into the industrial channels even though it cannot be used in such channels so as to earn full interest on the capital originally invested. And this drawing of money away from the financial centers causes curtailment in loans, liquidation of stock exchange securities and so falling prices for such securities. The one thing that prevents a great contraction and great fall in stock prices at this time is the importation of gold in large volume that enables the banks to replace from abroad the cash drawn

from them for home use and so make it possible for them to avoid calling loans in a manner that would derange the whole level of prices. Within three weeks over \$25,000,000 has been started on its way from Europe to America.

As bearing on the present gold importations a comparison of British and American trade returns is interesting. During the calendar year 1897 the people of the United States sold \$356,498,664 worth more of merchandise to foreigners than they bought from foreigners, there was exported from the United States in excess of importations \$256,529 of gold and \$25,585,310 of silver, or a total balance put to our credit by net exportations of merchandise, gold and silver of \$382,240,503. During the same year the British people bought from foreigners merchandise to the value of £157,055,003 in excess of what they sold to foreigners, there was shipped from the United Kingdom and imported into the United Kingdom nearly £62,000,000 of gold but so nearly did exports balance imports that Britain gained all told just £287 of gold while she lost £648,897 of silver. Thus there appears against the British people for the year 1897 a debit balance on account of their foreign trade of £156,406,393, the equivalent of \$761,000,000.

Thus the trade returns show the United States to have been a creditor on the year's business of \$382,000,000, the United Kingdom a debtor of \$761,000,000. Thus we have sharply contrasted the difference between the position of a creditor and a debtor nation. The United States had to provide \$382,000,000 worth of produce on account of her foreign debt, the United Kingdom received \$761,000,000 worth of produce on account of what she had lent in times past. Thus we have the one, a debtor of England and Germany and Holland, etc., paying \$382,000,000 to its creditors, we have the other, a creditor of the world, receiving \$761,000,000 from its debtors.

#### REVOLT IN A BOSS-RIDDEN COMMONWEALTH.

FOR eighteen years we have fought boss rule in Pennsylvania. Three times has Quay bossism been overthrown, three times one man rule in Pennsylvania politics rebuked, three times the nominations dictated by Mr. Quay, the candidates chosen with a view to pleasing Quay not the people, to serving his purpose first the interests of the commonwealth last have been turned down. But three times has Quay bossism risen from its overthrows, three times has it risen to gain a firmer foothold, and to-day we find this bossism more overbearing than ever before.

The time for revolt is once again ripe; indeed, once again there is revolt. Revolt of an outraged people against the bossism, the corruption, the rottenness of the Quay machine is already with us. It is irrepressible. Revolt there is and revolt there will be, however that revolt may be led. It may be led so that it will dash out its energy, its vim, its strength and die fruitlessly. It may be led so as to succeed. That it will be so led is possible, that it will be led so as to bring defeat is more than probable. There are in the revolt the elements of success. The one question is: Will those elements be availed of and directed so as to bring success?

Put forward as one of the leaders of this revolt is Mr. Wanamaker. As a leader in such a revolt he is much handicapped. A year ago he was fighting the Quay bossism by lending himself to an effort to build up another bossism just as offensive. In this effort he not unnaturally failed. It was inevitable that he should fail for the Quay bossism was too firmly entrenched to succumb to the attacks of another bossism. It has never so succumbed, never been overthrown by such a force. Vulnerable the Quay bossism is, but it is not vulnerable to the attacks of a bossism equally vulnerable; corrupt it is, and the

people revolt at corruption, but those who themselves bow to corruption, resort to the use of the arts of the corrupter, cannot show up the corruption of others, cannot gather force sufficient to overthrow the Quay bossism, cannot now and never could. The people rising in their righteous wrath, fighting corruption with honesty, rottenness with purity, themselves incorruptible and invulnerable to the attacks of the corrupter, can turn down Mr. Quay and that which he represents, turn down Quay bossism to-day as they have done in the past.

But it was not so that the fight was made upon Quay bossism and corruption a year and more ago. It was made by raising up another bossism, a bossism of Martin and Magee. As a consequence the people hating Quay bossism, revolting at that which is corrupt and degrading in politics and which has become synonymous with the name of Quay, were repelled rather than invited to his attack and so Quay triumphed. It was for this reason that the assault of a year ago upon Quay bossism was beaten back. It could not succeed for the assailants of Quay bossism offered nothing better than they promised to replace, they offered to replace bossism with bossism, a rule of political degradation with a rule no more pure. And so this assault led by Mr. Wanamaker failed. He failed to beat Mr. Penrose in the senatorship contest, failed not because Pennsylvanians felt satisfaction with the selection of Mr. Penrose or contentment with Quay bossism, but failed because he allied himself with a bossism as tainted and as repulsive as the bossism he promised to overthrow.

Far from profiting from such unworthy alliance he lost, he has reaped not sweet but bitter fruit, he has fallen a victim of the bossism he helped set up. And so let us hope that he may now lay bare its iniquities, and so render a service to this great but sorely-hampered and boss-ridden commonwealth.

In 1890-91, and as part of the Harrison administration, Mr. Wanamaker lent himself to building up the bossism, the corrupt forces in our politics, the powers that put honest men to shame, that the people of Pennsylvania had overthrown. He thus set upon its feet a bossism that he strove to overthrow in 1896-97 by availing of another bossism, by allying himself with the forces of corruption. Such is the past record of Mr. Wanamaker, who goes forth to lead the revolt against bossism and corruption. It is not a happy record upon which to essay such leadership, not a record calculated to command the confidence, gain the support of those revolting against Quay bossism and corruption. Yet he cannot better atone for his acknowledged mistakes of the past, for his part in building up the Quay rule after its last overthrow, than by bending his energies to uncover, trample down and drive out from our commonwealth the Quay bossism and the forces of corruption that are inseparable from it. With his eyes not only open to the iniquities of Quayism, but impressed with the necessity of rooting it out, he can do great service in uncovering those iniquities. Because he has been blind to those iniquities in the past does not unfit him to expose them to-day. Because he lent himself to the building up of bossism in 1890-91, and thus sustained and gave renewed life to the forces of corruption, should not be allowed to debar him from taking a foremost part in the tearing down of that bossism, the dethronement of that corruption, in the revolt now brewing. To the work of tearing down and dethroning that which he helped build up he should be welcomed; for those who have long opposed Quayism to repel him from taking part in that work, merely because at one time he supported that bossism, would be a wrong to him and themselves.

But that Mr. Wanamaker cannot inspire the confidence or command anything like the united support of those opposed to Quay bossism is evident. That he can lead the forces of revolt successfully we cannot regard as possible. He begins his fight within the Republican party; that he is prepared to take it outside of the Republican party if beaten within he now denies though it may be his purpose to do so, as at times he has hinted. But while standing for a Republican nomination, as a Republican,

this he must deny. His first purpose is to contest with the Quay machine and before the State Republican Convention for the party nomination for governor. That he will be beaten in this contest is a certainty and this seems to be his impression. Thus beaten he must draw out of the fight or stand forth as an independent. But if it is his purpose to so stand forth it would come of better grace if he at once announced himself as an independent and cut loose at once from all further party dealing with the machine that no one can come in contact with without suffering from its taint. By so standing forth boldly and at once he would command greater strength than he can hope to command if he waits until he is turned down by the party convention and then stands forth as a defeated candidate. But, we repeat, whatever he may do it is scarcely conceivable that he can command sufficient support to win. If he would defeat Mr. Quay he must let someone else take the leadership and direction of the campaign and himself play a subordinate role. By taking his place in the ranks of the revolters from boss rule he can aid in the overthrow of bossism, by putting himself at the head of the revolters, or rather a section of them, for he cannot hope to unite and lead them all, he will make certain the defeat of the revolters. In the ranks he may go forward to victory, leading he will go forward to defeat.

Under his leadership the overthrow of Quay bossism may, then, be put down as impossible. So we turn to the leadership of one other who is being pushed forward, namely to Dr. Swallow. That he can lead the revolt with any better prospects of success or even so good prospects as Mr. Wanamaker, whose prospects are practically nil, is a grave question. Last year, running for the office of State Treasurer, as a Prohibitionist in name but an independent in fact, he polled 119,000 votes, and the vote given him and the vote cast for the Democratic candidate united exceeded the vote given for the Republican. But the possibility of bringing the Democratic vote unitedly to the support of Dr. Swallow for Governor seems to be quite out of the question. The Democrats seem resolved to nominate a Democrat for Governor, show no desire of turning down the Quay regime unless it can be done under the name of a Democrat, unless a Democratic regime can be built up in its place. So no opponent of Quay bossism can succeed unless there is a revolt of great magnitude from both old parties. And that Dr. Swallow can incite such a revolt or even unite the revolters who cut loose from old party ties is far from certain.

Bred up as a Methodist minister, schooled as the editor of a religious paper, of a type of man who intuitively turns against wrong, whose nature revolts at evidence of corruption, Dr. Swallow has been drawn into the political vortex by a combination of circumstances. Believing that the Capitol at Harrisburg was purposely burnt to the ground by some corruptionists who sought to destroy evidence of their dishonest practices he so charged in his newspaper. Out of such charges grew a criminal libel suit, and in searching for evidence in substantiation of his charges he discovered many indefensible practices, much petty corruption and innumerable petty stealings. So he went on from the discovery of one dishonest practice after another that has grown up under the Quay regime, and nominated by the Prohibitionists for State Treasurer, he made his campaign on the platform "Thou shalt not steal." And it is upon this platform that he is now asked to run for Governor. He has been gradually and irresistibly led on from a consideration of the stealings of the Quay machine to the stealings of corporations that hold up the Quay regime, give it sustenance and support in return for the scattering of favors.

Thus it is that Dr. Swallow's attention has been directed to the aggressions of centralized capital, to the gross injustice and alarming extent to which discrimination in transportation charges has been carried by our railroads, discrimination that robs the many and enriches the few, robs the honest and enriches the cor-

rupt, and as an honest, earnest and courageous man must, when such injustice is unfolded to him, he has risen up against the perpetuation of such injustice, is fired with a resolve to pursue relentlessly those who strive to enrich themselves by grinding down the many, is prepared to regard the shibboleth of his campaign, "Thou shalt not steal," in its broad sense, to uncover the stealings of corporations, the aggressions of corporate power, no less than the stealings of the Quay machine. He promises to ferret out corruption in corporations and bring them to book for their corrupt practices even as he promises to uncover the corruption that has grown up around Quay bossism and punish the guilty.

Thus far Dr. Swallow is quite in accord with the Populists and thus far they can go heartily with him. But whether or no Populists can conscientiously support him for governor is a question dependent on the views Dr. Swallow takes on the financial question. If he is wedded to the gold standard, to the monetary system of the moneyed oligarchy, to a system that robs the many for the profit of the few, they cannot support him, but must oppose. But that Dr. Swallow is an upholder of such a system we do not believe. That he opposes it is not apparent. What views he holds on the financial question we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that he has given the subject no study and holds to no fixed views.

Such is the political status in the boss ridden commonwealth of Pennsylvania. There is great revolt and revolt of great breadth and possible strength, but revolt in greatly chaotic shape, revolt of great chaos and so revolt of present weakness. And out of that chaos Mr. Wanamaker cannot bring order, so victory for the people and the overthrow of the Quay machine. Can Dr. Swallow? That is the question of the hour. And if not, who can?

#### OUR RAILROADS AS OPPRESSORS OF THE HONEST AND SERVITORS OF THE UNSCRUPULOUS.

THE enormity of the extortion carried on under cover of our railroads is hard to conceive. Hidden by practices that are innumerable, by underhand practices that are as reprehensible as the grievous exactions and injustices so carefully hidden, it is hard to uncover the extent of the evils that have grown up around the building and operation of our railroads. The injustice of discrimination in freight charges and transportation services, the injustice and wrong of charging those outside of the railroad cliques, the trusts and combines built up on the favors granted by the railroads,—of charging those outside of these cliques higher rates than those within can readily be grasped, but the extent to which this discrimination is carried, and hence the magnitude of the wrong and evil done, it is impossible to show in all its enormity, for the discriminations are so adroitly covered and hidden that it is quite impossible to uncover them in all their nakedness. And even as it is hard to comprehend the magnitude of the injury done by discrimination in railroad charges and services is it hard to comprehend the extent of the systematic over-capitalizing and wrecking of our railroads that has been carried on.

We speak of discrimination in transportation services as well as charges for the reason that promptness of service is often of importance secondary only to that of reasonableness of rates, and to supply some with prompter service than others is to give to the favored a great advantage. To side-track a shipment of grain somewhere en route from Chicago to the seaboard, side-track it after a steamer has been chartered to carry such grain abroad and while that steamer is awaiting its cargo, will entail upon the shipper great loss, for demurrage charges will pile up against him on account of the undue detention of the steamer. Every day the steamer is unduly detained in idleness is a day detracted from the number of days during the year that the steamer should

be engaged in carrying cargoes and earning freights. And if the shipper chartering a steamer to carry out a cargo has not his cargo ready and so detains the steamer, he puts off the day on which that steamer would, under other conditions, be ready for another cargo, he lengthens the time required for a round voyage, diminishes the number of trips that might be made in a given time, so curtails the earning capacity of the boat from the carriage of freight within such given time, and this curtailment of the chance of the boat to earn freights from others must be paid for by the shipper who is so unfortunate as to detain the steamer.

Thus any delay on the part of a railroad to deliver a shipment of grain at seaboard has the effect of increasing the ocean freight that the shipper must pay. And clearly the shipper who is systematically subjected to the side tracking of his grain while his rivals can depend upon the prompt arrival of their shipments, is put at a serious handicap and must finally be driven out of the trade. And this is one of the annoyances to which shippers of grain outside of the cliques have ever and anon been subjected to their great loss and of which much complaint has at times been made.

It may be said that the shipper of grain thus constantly subjected to the side tracking of the cars with his grain while the grain of others comes through unerringly without delay, might calculate on the longer time that his grain was usually kept en route and insure himself against demurrage charges for the detention of a steamer chartered to forward the shipment by shipping his grain from Chicago at a date sufficiently before that fixed for the loading of the chartered steamer as to insure the grain being on hand, even though side tracked and kept an undue time en route. But this would oblige this shipper, or those purchasing grain through him, to advance the money for purchases of grain earlier than when the grain was to be forwarded by the shippers receiving from the railroads prompt service. Consequently these latter shippers would be preferred because there would be a saving of the outlay for interest on shipments made through them.

So to hold on to a share of the shipments the producer impelled by discrimination in promptness of service to order grain earlier than his favored rivals, would have to offer to do business for a smaller commission, so that the saving in commission might offset the loss of interest entailed because of the longer time grain forwarded by such shipper would have to be carried than that forwarded by his favored rivals. Besides, the taking of such care and at such cost to avoid steamship demurrage charges would not, of any certainty, relieve such shipper of demurrage charges. This for the reason that the cliques operating to ruin him and using the railroads as their tools would be prone to see that the railroads would run his grain through without delay when they were certain he was not ready to receive it. And then, unprepared to unload his cars, he would be in for demurrage charges on account of the undue detention of the cars, or he would have to provide storage room for his grain which would amount to about the same thing.

It is in this matter of demurrage that the railroads cover up much discrimination. The standing rule of all railroads is to require the unloading of freight from their cars within a very limited time after the arrival of the cars at destination, usually within a period of twenty-four or forty-eight hours. If the cars are not unloaded within the stated time limit demurrage charges are piled up. But in the case of many favored shippers the railroads conveniently forget to charge up or collect demurrage charges. Thus, in effect, they lend their cars to such shippers as free storage houses, and so such shippers are relieved from the necessity of providing storage room and paying storage charges where others must. This sort of preference or discrimination has been proven before the Inter-state Commerce Commission and in regard to many classes of freight. Indeed, there

is reason to believe that it is a species of discrimination constantly availed of, and very serious discrimination it is. Like all discrimination it results, of course, in loss to the railroad companies, puts them to an expense in supplying cars that they should not be obliged to incur. Indeed, it has often resulted, there is every reason to believe, in so tying up cars as to render it impossible for the railroads to supply cars asked for by shippers outside of the cliques, or at least give the railroads an excuse for failure to supply cars and so delay the shipments of the unfavored.

Much of the grain shipped, indeed most of the grain shipped from New York, is loaded into the ships by floating elevators; in Philadelphia and Baltimore most of the grain is loaded direct from elevators that serve as storage elevators, as well as loading. And it is clear that the side-tracking of grain cars in the railroad yards of New York or Philadelphia or Baltimore or elsewhere, and the holding of the cars of the favored shippers thus sidetracked without charge until the shippers are ready to ship the grain, and it may be passed through the elevators to the ships without storage charges, or through the floating elevators and into the ships without storage charges, amounts to the giving of great preference. And when other shippers outside of the cliques are charged for car demurrage if they keep cars standing in the yards, or storage charges if they unload them promptly unless they can so nicely time the arrival of their shipments as to have the grain always arrive when the steamer chartered to carry it is ready to receive it, it is clear they will be forced to work under a serious handicap. And, of course, they must work under a serious handicap, for the railroad cliques will be sure to make it impossible for them to thus nicely time the arrival of their shipments, as we have seen.

Another favorite method of discrimination much akin to this is covered up in switching charges, especially the switching of cars from the tracks of one railroad to the tracks of another. This is most notoriously true of the Chicago Belt Line. For the switching of cars over this line and from one of the granger lines running to the west to one of the trunk lines running to the east it appears that the railroads have added to the total freight charge as much as five cents a hundred pounds, or a charge for switching the cars a few miles of one-third as much as the schedule freight charge for shipments of grain from Chicago to the seaboard. But to the favored shippers this charge seems often to have been entirely remitted, the charging against them of anything for switching being purposely overlooked, "accidentally" if the question happens to be raised in any case. In this way those guilty of discrimination secure immunity from punishment.

The Chicago Belt line exacts payments for all the switchings over its lines, at least it is so believed, the railroads receiving the grain making such payments out of the gross freight charges and supposedly adding such payments to their through rates. But, as we have said, this they forget to do in the case of the favored shippers, with the result that such shippers get their grain through five cents a hundred cheaper because of this oversight, and the granger road and the trunk line that pay the switching charges have five cents a hundred less to divide between them. And what occurs at Chicago occurs at Philadelphia where there is an arbitrary charge made for switching of three cents a hundred, but the favored shippers quite generally escape this "arbitrary." It is not added to the rate charged them as it is to the unfavored shippers of grain, of whom, however, it might be said there are none, for they cannot live under the gross discriminations. This arbitrary switching charge makes a convenient cover for rebates. And as the open rate on grain from Chicago to Philadelphia is only fifteen cents we can see what this rebate amounts to.

And what is true of switching charges at Philadelphia is true of switching charges at nearly all large cities; it is true of Cleveland, Ohio, where the Interstate Commerce Commission has

recently been making some investigations. There it has been shown that these switching charges are not made against certain large grain shippers, there it has been proven that demurrage charges are not imposed indiscriminately but as a cover to discrimination, there it has been proven that the charges for switching and holding cars overtime are often greater than the regular freight rates, so that the unfavored shippers who are unfailingly required to pay these switching and demurrage charges often pay double the freight charges paid by the favored shippers, who escape the switching and demurrage charges. It is no wonder that the favored monopolize the grain trade.

In short, covered in these switching and demurrage charges at Cleveland there is discrimination of 100 per cent. And this does not measure the extent of the discrimination by any means.

It is a well published fact that the railroads charge much less for freight shipped in car load lots and to the same consignee than when consigned to several different parties. And this seems very reasonable for the labor entailed in making the latter kind of shipment and in delivering the goods is greater than in the first. Thus the open rate on a carload of sugar shipped in Philadelphia and consigned to the same person, say in Cleveland, is much less than upon a carload of sugar of which ten barrels is consigned to one grocer, ten to another, and so on. But it has recently been brought to light that the railroads ignore this extra charge imposed on divisional shipments where the Sugar Trust is in question. Thus the Sugar Trust has been permitted to ship car loads of sugar consigned ostensibly to an agent in Cleveland who is not the real consignee at all. This is shown by the fact that the sugar is not delivered to him but delivered upon his order to sundry different grocerymen. And until such grocerymen have wanted sugar the railroads have held sugar in their storehouses and without charge time and time again.

Thus the railroads made of themselves a business house of the Sugar Trust in Cleveland, or rather extended all the conveniences that a business house would have rendered and without charge. What is more, this free storage practice is not by any means confined to sugar or to Cleveland. We even find the freight agents of the railroads, in the pay of the railroads, at the direction of the railroads, and without additional compensation, rendering to various industrial trusts the services of business agents, the railroads permitting such trusts to consign carloads of goods to such agents and instruct such agents to fill the orders received by the trusts from different points of distribution out of carloads of goods shipped to the freight agents at such points. It is in this way, among others, that the trusts get an advantage over independent producers, squeeze out such producers and hold on to their monopoly. In this way they secure carload rates on shipments of goods that should of right pay the higher rates.

But these are not the only covert ways in which the trusts and combines are favored. A favorite method of discrimination is underbilling, that is of charging for less weight than actually shipped. It appears the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad has favored the Standard Oil Trust with this underbilling for some time. This has been accomplished, it seems, by making a ridiculous over-allowance for the weight of the tank cars thereby diminishing the reported weight of oil carried. This method of underbilling and discrimination being recently uncovered in a hearing before one of the Inter-state Commerce Commissioners the manager of the transportation department of the Standard Oil avers that he had no knowledge of the underbilling, that it resulted from a mistake in calculating the weight of the cars and so over the officials of the railroad. At the same time they promise to rectify the abuse. And thus by promise and diplomatic lying, by pleading ignorance, they escape the punishment that should be theirs, and will no doubt be bending their energies in the near future to devising a new method of dis-

crimination in favor of the Standard Oil, if indeed they seriously apply themselves to rectify the underbilling as they now promise, which is much to be doubted.

Thus we see how under the cover of demurrage and switching charges, under the cover of free storage and underbilling the railroads discriminate in favor of the cliques, the trusts, the combines. But to such indirect discrimination they do not confine themselves, as effective as it is. They grant direct rebates to the favored shippers. Thus the open rate on grain shipments from Chicago to Philadelphia is 15 cents a hundred pounds but it is currently reported that all the most favored shippers pay 8 cents. So here we have a direct rebate of 7 cents, or nearly 50 per cent., in addition to all the other rebates covered up in ways we have seen. Of course the extent of these rebates cannot well be proven for those who have knowledge of them and do not hesitate to speak of them privately could not be prevailed upon to give evidence before the Interstate Commerce Commission or a court, for such evidence would land the givers and receivers of these rebates in the penitentiary, and this, those who profit from such rebates and who speak of such rebates and who alone have direct knowledge of their extent cannot be expected to give. Nor can they be forced to give evidence that would be incriminating.

And now let us ask who are those who profit from these rebates? They are both the givers and receivers. The railroad managers who give, profit as well as the cliques who receive. They profit because the receivers of the rebates of which the railroad stockholders are deprived give back to such managers a part of the rebates given. It is this return rebate that tempts railroad managers to sacrifice the interests intrusted to their care.

The magnitude of this sacrifice of the interests of railroad security holders can not well be arrived at and it can hardly be comprehended. The freight earnings of our railroads last year were nearly \$800,000,000 and of the freight carried there can be little question that quite one-half was carried by the favored cliques, probably much more. Indeed when we recall the unquestionable facts that almost all the grain shipped from the central west to the seaboard is shipped by favored shippers, that the shipments of 80 per cent. of our mineral oils at least are favored shipments, that the greatest of our trusts and combines secure rebates beyond a doubt, are indeed the children of rebates, it seems almost absurdly small to put the favored shipments at only 50 per cent. of the whole. What the average rebate on the favored shipments amounts to is equally a matter of conjecture but we have shown that 50 per cent., or a discrimination of 100 per cent. in favor of the cliques would be no extravagant figure at which to place such rebates. Indeed when we recollect that the Standard Oil has enjoyed at times a discrimination of 1,600 per cent. and when we recall the movement in times past of what railroad men know by the name of "ghost trains," that is trains loaded with freight carried absolutely free, we are half inclined to think that the favored shippers enjoy an average discrimination of over 100 per cent.

But even supposing the favored shippers only controlled half of the traffic and enjoyed discrimination of an average of but 100 per cent. it is evident that the earnings of our railroads for the last year were cut into by rebates to an extent of \$400,000,000, that their freight earnings, save for the betrayal of the interests of the railroads by their managers, a betrayal for private gain, would have been \$1,200,000,000 instead of \$800,000,000, that their net earnings would have been more than twice as large as they were and that, interest charges remaining the same, they could have paid as dividends to stockholders five times that which they did.

If the public had the advantage of these rebates there would be some compensation for this gross betrayal of the interests of railroad stockholders. But the lowering of rates growing out of such rebates has brought the public no benefit, but on the con-

trary great injury. Out of such rebates have grown trusts and combines that have crushed out independent producers, wrecked their enterprises, taken from them their accumulations of capital. The result has been to centralize wealth in a few hands and by such centralization discourage production, retard the accumulation of wealth and so clog the wheels of progress. But this is not all. By creating monopolies these rebates, and the secret lowering of freight rates consequent thereon, have resulted not in cheapening, but in enhancing the cost of such monopolized products to the American consumer, not perhaps in actually enhancing prices, but in holding prices for such products above the level to which they would otherwise have fallen. And so again have the many been impoverished that the few might gain.

But this is not all. The granting of these rebates by cutting into the earnings of railroads has been the cause of the wrecking of many roads. Indeed in not a few cases the producers along one line of road have been deliberately discriminated against in favor of the producers along other roads, and then the discrimination reversed with a view to alternately wrecking road and industries located along it, alternately building up road and industries, the wrecking of the road being timed to occur, it is needless to say, when the cliques have their accumulations in the industries built up by bleeding the road, and the wrecking of the industries and building up of the road being equally timed in the interest of the cliques. Thus by raising freight rates along a road have the industries along such road been discriminated against and crushed. Such raising of rates at first, and only at first, is calculated to increase the railroad earnings. When the industries are wrecked and bought up by the cliques the railroad is sure to suffer curtailment of earnings and final wreck from the drying up of the industries along its line. Then by putting down freight rates so as the industries along such line and in possession of the cliques may have a handicap rather than be handicapped such industries will be built up. The cliques getting out of such industries and into the wrecked road then raise freight rates. For a while the unfortunate industrial enterprises struggle along at a loss while the profits of the road increase, and its securities held by the clique are pushed up in price and sold, when this policy of industrial ruin bears its fruits in wrecked industries and finally again a wrecked road. It is much after this manner that the cliques profit from their schemes of overcapitalization.

So we see how the rebates of which we have spoken benefit the cliques and injure the masses of the people, benefit the unscrupulous and injure the honest in all directions. It is thus that the railroads have become the oppressors of the honest and servitors of the unscrupulous, the oppressors of the weak and servitors of the strong. Thus it is that the wealth produced by the many, and that should of right be accumulated by the many, passes into the hands of the few; thus it is that one per cent. of our people have come to own as much property as the remaining ninety-nine; that one-eighth of the families in America receive more than half of the aggregate income; that the richest one per cent. receive a larger income than the poorer fifty.

If it is wrong to build a road at a cost of \$5,000,000 and then capitalize it at \$10,000,000, if it is wrong to issue upon said road \$5,000,000 of stock for which no money is given and call it full paid up capital, if it is wrong to tax the users of our railroads to pay interest on this fictitious capital, then bound up with our railroad system is grievous wrong, for after this manner it is capitalized. If it is wrong to charge a few of the most powerful shippers only eight cents a hundred pounds for the shipment of wheat from Chicago to Philadelphia while charging the mass of shippers fifteen cents, if it is wrong for the railroads to give to some shippers the use of their cars as storehouses free of charge but not to all, if it is wrong for the railroads to act as the business agents of the trusts, while refus-

ing to similarly treat the ordinary shipper, if it is wrong to carry the goods of the trusts at lower rates than the goods of independent producers, if it is wrong for the railroads to do switching without charge for the clique shippers while charging all other shippers stiffly, in a word, if it is wrong for our railroads to operate so as to deprive men of an equality of opportunity, so as to build up trusts and monopolies, so as to impoverish the many, so as to oppress the honest and serve the unscrupulous, then sheltered under the protection of our railroads is a grievous wrong, for after this manner are they operated.

If we would not honor and enrich the big criminals while punishing the little we must put an end to the use of our railroads as the oppressors of our people and the servitors of oligarchy. And this demands the nationalization of our railroads. There is no other alternative. We must become the slaves of those controlling the railroads or we must possess those railroads and make them our servants. We must be masters or we must be slaves. Let us resolve to be masters.

So, whereas the railroads cannot be depended upon as common carriers but show themselves as preferential carriers, making extortionate charges for some services and of some people that services may be rendered to others for a song, laying unjustly onerous charges upon some that others may be relieved, taxing and impoverishing the many that the few may be enriched we demand the nationalization of our railroads that our people may enjoy their rightful inheritance, may enjoy equality in fact as well as name, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

#### WEALTH AND CAPITAL.

ACCUMULATED capital is much to be desired. Indeed, it is a mark of progress, and if we would not stand still as a people and a nation we should foster and encourage the accumulation of wealth. And this we are not doing, though the remarkable growth of great fortunes may be taken as evidence that we are. We are indeed fostering and encouraging the growth of great fortunes, encouraging the accumulation of great wealth in a few hands, but we are encouraging such accumulation by tolerating dishonesty on the part of the great accumulators, by permitting, indeed aiding them, to gather fortunes by skimming the accumulations of the many; and the building of great fortunes not by the production of wealth but by squeezing from the many the fruits of their toil, by draining the accumulations of the labor and enterprise of the many into a few privileged hands, a few privileged to lay tribute on their fellow men, cannot encourage but must discourage the accumulation of wealth, is far from a mark of progress.

Obviously the accumulation of wealth will be most rapid when to every man is insured not only the enjoyment but the chance to profitably use his accumulations. Deprive him of this chance, this opportunity which it is his right to have, and we deprive him of the incentive that encourages men to throw their energies into production, we make it worth no man's while to accumulate wealth, capital, from which he can derive no profit, no enjoyment, and so we set on foot forces of retrogression not of progress. And this we have done. We have curtailed, if not shut off from most men the opportunity of using their accumulations, their capital with profit, and shutting off this opportunity we virtually deprive them of their capital, for capital that cannot be used with profit loses its value and destroys itself.

To particularize, if a man of moderate capital puts it into some enterprise and then the opportunity of profit is shut off to that enterprise by railroad discrimination in favor of other enterprises engaged in the same industry, discrimination that will enable the favored enterprises to market their goods cheaper and so undersell, such unfortunate man will find his enterprise, his

capital, lose its value, he will find it become a burden instead of the source of profit anticipated, a burden that will become heavier the longer he holds on to his enterprise, become heavier until he will be glad to sell his enterprise to his privileged competitors for a mere tithe of his investment of capital. And it is to force such sales, to hold up trusts and monopolies, to pass into the hands of the few the wealth, the capital accumulated by the many that we find opportunities to use capital at a profit shut off from the many. In this way great fortunes are built up but they are built up by the ruin of many small, in this way great wealth is accumulated in a few hands but such accumulation is a curse and an injury, not a benefit, a curse and an injury for it retards does not encourage the accumulation of wealth, it leaves the country with a smaller increase of wealth, with less capital than it should have. In brief, the very existence of such fortunes deprives the country of capital. With the creation of such fortunes made impossible the creation of wealth and accumulation of capital would become more rapid; with such fortunes non-existent there would be more capital not less.

Capital is nothing more nor less than accumulated wealth. It is, in the first place, the stored food that enables men to sustain life while bringing into cultivation more productive and richer soils, while producing improved tools and implements that will enable them to make their labor more productive. Clearly until the husbandman can produce more food than suffices for his own and family's wants, until by his labor and that of his sons, he can produce more food than enough to last from the garnering of one harvest to the next, he cannot count off one son to the draining of a swamp or the production of improved tools. To do so would bring want, hunger and starvation, even though from the richer soils that might be thus brought under cultivation richer harvests could be garnered in a few years with a certainty and labor made more productive. As men cannot live on a future certainty of plenty in the absence of a present sufficiency, such certainty would have to be forgone.

So it is that the draining of low grounds, the improvement of the implements of labor, the increased productiveness that comes with division of labor, must come gradually and as capital can be accumulated. Without accumulated wealth division of labor is impossible, whenever the accumulation of wealth ceases in a nation such nation must come to a standstill. It is because capital can only be accumulated gradually that the better lands which are always the most heavily timbered, always the ones most in need of drainage, always the ones that cost most labor to bring into shape for cultivation are the last to be tilled, the last to be farmed.

It is only gradually that the husbandman put down in a new country can make use of these soils. His first pressing necessity is to raise a crop, to get food to sustain life. He cannot wait for three or four years before reaping the returns of his labor, no matter how great the promise of returns may be. He must take up the lands that he can at once bring into cultivation, and these are the loose soils, the poorer soils that are not heavily timbered, that can be cleared and cultivated with greatest ease. But these soils brought under cultivation and thus the means of sustaining life established and then as time can be snatched from the care of his growing crops, the garnering of his crops and the care of his stock, the husbandman will proceed to clear the lower and richer soils and bring them gradually into tillage. At first this tillage is bound to be difficult and the crops garnered therefrom far from bountiful. But as year follows year and the old stumps decay the difficulties of cultivation will grow less and the crops larger. Then the time will come when the food the husbandman can raise will surpass his wants; then he can count off one of his sons to other pursuits and will do so sure that the farm will raise enough food for that son, even though not employed upon it, and sure that the employment of that son solely in the making or mending of tools, at which employment constant application will

be sure to make him more skilled, will result in the turning out of better tools and improved implements and thus the increased productiveness of the work of all.

As it is with the individual husbandman so it is with the community. When a surplus of food can be raised, when it no longer takes the labor of all to raise sufficient food for all division of labor will follow and the general productiveness of labor will increase. But it is evident that without such surplus of food, such capital—for accumulated food is capital just as much as any other form of accumulated wealth—division of labor would be impossible.

Thus stored food becomes the earliest form of capital as it is the most indispensable. As the amount of this stored capital becomes larger, that is, as the surplus of food that men can raise beyond their own needs increases, so increases the number of men who can occupy themselves with other employments than agriculture. And then can division of labor be carried further. But the extent of this division is dependent upon the productiveness of the labor of those who take up other work than agricultural. Each man must be able to command with the products of his labor that which he needs, and this he cannot get if too many men occupy themselves in the same line of work with the result of producing more of their specialty than there is a market for. In this event division of labor must be and will be carried further. But it cannot be carried further or faster than wealth accumulates, faster than those engaged in already established lines of industry increase the surplus of their labors, for unless there is this surplus produced there will be nothing to sustain a producer in a new line of industry during the interim that must elapse between the undertaking of the fabrication of any article and the turning out of the finished product. There must be a surplus accumulated to sustain the producer through such interim and supply him with needed raw materials and tools or there can be no branching out in new lines of production.

Thus it is that the accumulation of capital puts limits to the division of labor, hence the productiveness of labor and general progress. It follows that the accumulation of capital in a state is of the primest importance, and if we would not retard progress we must remove all obstacles to the accumulation of wealth. And we must remember that the greatest of all hindrances is the robbing of one man of the accumulations of his toil for the profit of another, for such robbery discourages the robbed from accumulating wealth, and renders it unnecessary for the robber to produce wealth. In short, such robbing divides society into idle drones and discouraged toilers.

The function of capital is simply to sustain the producer, keep him in food and raiment and shelter, to supply him with needed raw materials and the loan of the tools of production during the time necessarily elapsing between the undertaking of the fabrication or raising of any article and the marketing of the finished product. It follows that all that which is needed by the producer during this interim, food, clothing, shelter, is capital; that the raw materials and tools of manufacture are capital. Hence it is that much capital is absolutely consumed by its use, and such capital must be replaced or there will be retrogression.

All this, which is capital, must be advanced to the producer who does not produce it for himself. Before the promise can be given that it will be advanced it must be accumulated, or there must be a certainty that it can be accumulated without the help of the producer purposing to confine himself to one special line of production. Unless there is this certainty there can be no confining of producers to special lines but each producer must undertake the filling of his own wants, the direct filling of his own wants so far as there is not accumulated wealth of others to depend upon and ready to be exchanged for the surplus products of his own toil.

Thus it is that the diversification of employments is limited by the accumulation of wealth. When we diversify industries

and diversify again the labor of those employed in such industries so that each man while actively engaged in production produces nothing ready for consumption or that he himself consumes there must be supplied to that man all that which he needs. And this is necessary and this is done in our manufacturing plants to-day. During the time that elapses between the planting of the cotton and the selling of cotton goods, and to those engaged in the planting and picking and baling of the cotton, in the transporting of the cotton to the mills, in the spinning of the yarns and weaving of the cloth, there must be supplied food and raiment and shelter or supplied the wherewithal with which they can supply themselves. And all this must be supplied out of accumulated wealth, out of capital. Without such accumulated wealth the cotton would have to be spun and woven by hand where raised, spun and woven at much greater labor cost indeed but so spun and woven from necessity. And so it would be with all industries now greatly diversified.

It is the accumulation of capital that has made the diversification of employments possible. Discourage production by taking from producers the rewards of their toil, so reduce the wealth produced and less wealth will, of necessity, be accumulated. Then present accumulations being eaten up and not replaced the capital of the nation will shrink away, its productive powers fall away. Nations in the past have fallen into decrepitude and disappeared from just such cause, from the fact that as they used their accumulations of capital they did not replace them in full, with the inevitable result of forcing widely diversified industries into decay and driving men back to primitive ways of production. And this we are now doing much to do, doing much to do by permitting the few to squeeze from the many their accumulations of capital and the earnings of their industry and so discourage the production of wealth. Thus we have instances on the plantations of Arkansas, and we doubt not they can be paralleled in other Southern states, where the old spinning wheel and hand loom have been brought again into use, not because of any preference for home spun goods, not because of any want of knowledge of the labor cost of fabrication by such primitive means and of the small return of labor so employed as compared to the productiveness of labor in the modern factory with its diversified employments, but because labor is cheap and money dear, or rather because labor is obtainable and money unobtainable, unobtainable because the cotton does not sell for enough to cover the costs of production. And so for some unfortunate and more remotely situated cotton planters of Arkansas it has become simply a question of raise a few sheep of their own, spin their own wool, weave their own cloth and make their own clothes or go without woolens.

It is not a case of where wealth accumulates men decay. It is a case of where men decay because wealth does not accumulate. It is a case where men decay because the wealth the many accumulate is centralized in the hands of a few, a case of where men decay not because men grow rich, but because men cannot grow rich by honest toil, a case where progress is halted because the opportunity to accumulate and make profitable use of wealth is closed to most men, because it is opened to the unscrupulous who are ready to open the doors to its profitable use and the paths to its accumulation by corruption and bribery. It is not the accumulation of wealth that leads to the decay of a state and is to be regretted. It is the centralizing of wealth in a few hands by acts of industrial and financial piracy, by the scattering of special privileges and the extension of transportation preferences to the few that leads to decay. And this leads to decay because it retards the accumulation of wealth, because it stifles the productive energies of a people and makes a country poorer not richer.

The accumulation of wealth is greatly to be desired. The rapidity with which it may be accumulated measures the growth, the advancement of a people toward a higher and better civiliza-

tion. The greater the accumulation of wealth the farther may the diversification of employments be carried, the more productive will man's labor become, the greater will be his command over the illimitable resources of nature. So the progress of a people is measured by the accumulation of wealth. The faster that accumulation the faster the progress. So to attain the greatest possible speed in the accumulation of wealth should be our aim, for to accomplish this is to make greatest speed along the highway of civilization, a road that leads ever upward and onward, leads to heights which we cannot foresee but which can be attained, to heights from which future generations may look back upon our present civilization as but a few steps of advance out of the realms of barbarism.

And to keep to this path we have but to obey that higher law that lifts man above the level of brute creation, the law that commands us to co-operate with our fellow men as brothers, not to antagonize and prey upon them as enemies, the higher law given to us by Christ and that found true interpretation and practical recognition in the Western Hemisphere a hundred years ago, the law of the brotherhood of man, the law that all men are and of right ought to be free and equal, entitled to equal opportunities, the same privileges. To reach upward and onward on the plane of civilization we have but to obey this law. Obey this law, protect every man in the enjoyment and use of the fruits of his toil, give to all men equal opportunities in the employment of the capital that by well-directed labor and wise economy may be accumulated, and then the stimulus to that accumulation will be the greatest possible and the progress of our people in material comforts and intellectual advancement be the fullest attainable.

This law we do not now obey, but on the contrary transgress or permit others to transgress with impunity. And so we experience a feeling of unrest, a feeling born of the sense that we are not living up to our ideals, that we are leaving undone that which we should do, that we are doing that which we should not, that we are not holding out to all men an equality of opportunity but building up a moneyed oligarchy by the extension of preferences and special privileges, in a word that we are not accomplishing that which we should, that we are remiss in our duties to ourselves and our posterity, that we are not acting in a manner that will enable us to hand down the blessings of equality and liberty bequeathed to us by our forefathers who bled and died that we might be free, that we might enjoy the blessings of liberty that they had fought for, that we might attain in full that which they strove to attain. But instead we have not beaten back those who trample upon the first law of civilization and Christianity, the brotherhood of man. We have innocently legislated in the interest of the few, legislated so as to put grievous burdens upon the many that the few might go well nigh free, legislated so as to handicap the many in the gathering of wealth that a class might profit, we have tolerated the evil and unscrupulous practices of those who, controlling our transportation lines, have refused to recognize the right of all men to an equality of opportunity, an equal chance to the profitable use of capital. This we have done; this we should do, must do no longer if we would go onwards and upwards to a higher civilization, to a happier and better life, if we would hand down to our children something better than we received from our forefathers, not something worse, a better and stronger and more progressive state, not a retrograding one.

We make no war on capital. To do so would be to close the doors of progress. We do make war on the aggressions of capital for not to do so would be to equally close the doors to advancement and a higher civilization. Let this be emphasized. We make no war on the wealthy because they are wealthy, we attack only those wealthy who have gathered their wealth by acts of piracy, by preying upon the accumulations of man, by injuring not by benefitting their fellow men.

Those who have accumulated wealth by honest means, those

who by their capability in organizing the forces of production have made possible great economies, saved wasted labor and by skillful direction added greatly to the productiveness of labor, or those again who by energy, research, and study have achieved great results, improved the tools and methods of production so as to add to the wealth producing abilities of man and his command over the resources of nature have nothing to fear from an honest people. But those who have accumulated wealth by acts of piracy have. The accumulation of wealth by honest means we must encourage if we would progress, but we can no longer tolerate the gathering of wealth in a few hands by dishonest means if we would avoid retrogression. The accumulation of wealth we should encourage, capital we should befriend but we cannot encourage its accumulation, cannot befriend it by extending to the few or permitting the few to monopolize certain preferences and privileges that unfailingly take from its rightful possessors the wealth accumulated by the endeavors of the many and centralize it in a few hands, for the extension, the toleration of such preferences must discourage and retard the accumulation of capital.

Capital, accumulated wealth, we want, yes, but capital centralized in a few hands by practices unjust and indefensible, no.

## POPULISTS, TAKE NOTICE!!!

### Peoples Party Referendum Ballot.

DATE . . . . .

Believing in the principles of the Peoples Party and favoring independent party action and not having voted on the annexed propositions, I vote as follows:

#### Propositions.

1. Do you favor a national convention being held, pending the campaign of 1898, for the purpose of promoting the welfare and future policy of the party?

VOTE \_\_\_\_\_

YES; or NO.

2. What date is your choice for holding a national convention for the nomination of presidential candidates?

July 4, 1898. May 26, 1899. Feb. 22, 1900.

VOTE \_\_\_\_\_

Write on this line your choice of above dates.

My Name is . . . . . Here voter signs his name in his own hand.

My Post-office is . . . . .

My County is . . . . .

My State is . . . . .

NOTE.—If the voter desiring to be recorded on the above propositions and so help shape the policy of the Peoples party and the destiny of our Republic, does not wish to disfigure his copy of THE AMERICAN by clipping out the above ballot, he may copy the above ballot on postal card and so have his vote recorded.

To chairmen of county, precinct or township meetings called for the purpose of voting on above propositions, ballots will be sent on application made to N. H. Motsinger, Referendum Committeeman, Shoals, Indiana.

Send ballots to THE AMERICAN, Philadelphia.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

## Literary Criticism in Theory and Practice.

*Emerson, and Other Essays.* By JOHN JAY CHAPMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

A few years ago the literary adviser of one of the great publishing houses stated in private conversation that the American people never bought and rarely read a volume of essays. The book of Elia has always figured rather prominently on the library shelf, with Montaigne and Bacon as side supports, because Lamb is always in season with literary epicures, and we pride ourselves on having every imported dainty on our tables, whether we relish them ourselves or not. A change seems to be coming over our reading tastes. Be it judgment or mere sailing with the stream, the thing is welcome for the sake of change. Popular indifference to the essay is really the outcome of a highly sapient variety of ignorance. Its name deters us from diving into its character to discover its qualities. If it comes to that, is not this same silly fear of names the true explanation of half the troubles the world has fanned into gigantic hindrances to progress? Mankind has gone on inventing spiteful names, often founded on completely mistaken notions, for minorities wiser than the mass, which names have been imbibed with their milk by generations of true-born bigots, too lazy-minded or cowardly to set their adult wits to do their own thinking. Most heresies have mellowed into eminently respectable orthodoxies in their old age, yet every heresy has had to skulk along to the music of jeers and curses until some wayside triumph has won a bigger crowd, and then the jeers soon change into cheers. So in literature, apologizing to that noble and ill-used word for the humiliation in making it stand for the nondescript body of books these latter years have produced. The essay suggests to the mindless mind the driest, most formal, and sophomoric verbiage about absolutely uninteresting things, or else a wishy-washy, jelly-fish kind of composition by would-be funny writers who only flounder between borrowed brilliance and original inanity. Truth to tell, the alert explorer of essay-land does really get fooled occasionally over dismal finds of this sort. He must not be disheartened because of this. When found, the genuine essay compensates for all failures, and it may be found any moment, in outlandish places, and if it bears a signature—many of the very best do not—it may be a wholly unknown name. What old, ripe, rich, tawny port is to fiery raw "claret" at fifty cents a gallon; what Emerson's writings are to yellow kid Sunday newspapers, that is what the pure essay is to popular fiction, popular poetry, popular drama. It does not displace them, it will never compete with their sales, but in the quiet evening hour when the whirling workaday world is shut out and head and heart join in a longing for rest with the higher music of meditation, there is more delicious recreation to be got out of the essay than from any other reading. For one thing, it lures the unharnessed brain into the gentlest canter through lovely glades, just enough exercise to be better than idleness, and gives us glimpses of sky and sea, things near and far and within our own hearts, to the flowing accompaniment of mood melody. Whatever his text, the free will doctrine of the essay preacher insures his roaming to the four points of the compass and ending anywhere but at a fixed point.

That taste is turning in the direction of the essay is evident from the appearance of so many recent volumes of miscellaneous papers by rising writers. The fact that essays in criticism are finding acceptance in book form promises a crop of riper fruit to come. The present volume is made up of seven essays that have appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* and elsewhere. They are on Emerson, Whitman, Romeo, Michael Angelo as poet, Dante, Browning, and Stevenson. They are conceived in a spirit of defiant independence, which makes them lively reading and inspires independent thought in the reader. How self-confident our new instructor is can be seen by this short passage. He is about to dissect poor Walt Whitman, who, says he, was discovered by the essayists, no thanks to them for it. "The history (of the discovery that Whitman was a poet) would write up into the best possible monograph on the incompetency of the Anglo-Saxon in matters of criticism. English literature is the literature of genius and the Englishman is the great creator.

The English mind is the only unconscious mind the world has ever seen. And for this reason the English mind is incapable of criticism." The logic of this is probably obscured by its brevity but it prepares us neatly for the utterance of the

new oracle, who, though an American, does not happen to be Whitman. "There has never been an English critic of the first rank, hardly a critic of any rank, and the critical work of England consists of—" simple 'twaddle. Again the oracle: "Now, true criticism means an attempt to find out what something is, not for the purpose of judging it, or of imitating it, nor for the purpose of illustrating something else, nor for any other ulterior purpose whatever." Not even for the pleasure, we suppose, of earning a few dollars and great fame by selling one's purposeless criticisms in a pretty book. The Chapman canon of criticism possesses a sweet simplicity of inutility, reminding us of the old farmer's recommendation of the horse he was trying to sell, "he's a good 'un to look at but a bad 'un to go." Mr. Chapman is disturbed in his beauty sleep by a noise downstairs. His drowsy wife thinks friends are serenading them, he says it is more like the sound of a burglar's jimmy. Moved by his spirit of "true criticism" he makes and succeeds in the "attempt to find out what the something is." Having discovered the burglar at burglary he returns to his pillow content as critic and artist with his find, and seeks to slumber smiling at the simpletons who would worry themselves by "judging it," or "illustrating something else," such as the futility of looking for a policeman, or resolving to turn it to "any other ulterior purpose whatever," except, perhaps, the practical sordid one of selling the story to the local paper. Art for art's sake is a beautiful working creed if this earth is Paradise and we spotless angels. Then the burglar brother may continue to burgle in sheer joy of his genius, unalloyed with desire for gain, and the literary critic, if he is not choked to death with the purity of the air, can keep up his high mission, writing elegant nothings for nobody to notice seriously in the spirit of the purposeless gentleman who went on "washing his hands with invisible soap in imperceptible water."

Under stress of the benighted code of criticism obeyed by commoner mortals, we try to find out what the "something" is in this book, for the deplorable purpose of judging it, and the ulterior one of placing the reader in possession of the author's anything but purposeless judgments and warnings. He does not give us a chance to test his own application of his principle of "true criticism" on a burglar, but we catch him working it out on a tramp, which is near enough. This Whitman, whom certain English incapables have hailed as the one typical American poet, is the tramp. This fast-increasing class revolt from the drudgery of respectability, they throw off all restraints of decency which can safely be discarded, and live as near to the animals as they can.

"Walt Whitman has given utterance to the soul of the tramp. A man of genius has passed sincerely and normally through this entire experience, himself unconscious of what he was, and has left a record of it to enlighten and bewilder the literary world. . . . His speech is English and his metaphors and catchwords are apparently American, but the emotional content is cosmic. He put off patriotism when he took to the road. . . . He has the bad taste bred in the bone of all missionaries and palmists, the sign manual of the true quack, . . . the offensive intrusion of himself and his mission into the matter in hand. . . . He was fortunately so very ignorant and untrained that his mind was utterly incoherent and unintellectual. . . . On the whole, though he solves none of the problems of life and throws no light on American civilization, he is a delightful appearance, . . . and has given a true picture of himself and of that life, a picture which the world had never seen before, and which it is probable the world will not soon cease to wonder at."

This extract shows the true critic and his style. The theory of our law courts is rooted in the doctrine of criticism with a purpose; advocates present facts, juries sift them, and judges are supposed to hold the balance true. The advantage of the true criticism over the old cumbrous process is made plain by the author, who simplifies matters by combining the offices of advocate and judge, dispensing with the jury element. In the case of Whitman the dictatorial depreciative air is largely pardonable in view of the effort to inflate him into an imitation Homer, not to say a Zeus with his pigmy priesthood. The essay is polemical more than anything, very attractive by its Donnybrook shillelah swing and amusing in its coarseness, but inasmuch as it has a purpose, two or three in fact, one being to drag the idol from his alleged English altar-throne, it suicidally blows itself to pieces by the mouth of its own canon of "true criticism." We could wish it a better fate.

The study of Emerson fills a hundred pages. He is a fine subject for any bold writer. We are given a thumb-nail sketch of the constrained intellectuality of New England in the twenties, with the "pitiable" moral cowardice which caused Tocqueville to blaspheme against our boasted independence. This was the state of things when Emerson dawned, and he, a born Platonist, began

to speak his poetic prose in a dreamy way. "A sort of Yankee Shelley," who soon lost his singing voice. His quick change to his great self is traced through his writings, which vary in coherence. "Regarded as a sole guide to life for a young person of strong conscience and undeveloped affections, his works might conceivably be even harmful because of their unexampled power of purely intellectual stimulation." His poetry encases fire in ice, he works us into the hypnotic state and leaves us there. Holmes said that a gill of alcohol would put a man into the same psychical state as an Emerson poem puts some readers into. He was also too argumentative in his verse. Much is to be forgiven in Emerson's obscurity, because the times were against him and the rest of our greater writers of his day. They worked under the shadow of sectionalism and provincialism. "The conservatism and timidity of our politics and literature to-day are due in part to that fearful pressure which for sixty years was never lifted from the souls of Americans. That conservatism and timidity may be seen in all our past. They are in the rhetoric of Webster and in the style of Hawthorne. They killed Poe. They created Bryant." The author inveighs lustily against the still dominant note of timidity in American literature. "Lowell had the soul of a Yankee but in habits of writing he continued English tradition. . . . Twice, however, at a crisis of pressure, he assumed his real self under the guise of a pseudonym, and with his own hand he rescued a language, a type, a whole era of civilization from oblivion." Of Emerson's influence this is said: "If a soul be taken and crushed by Democracy till it utter a cry, that cry will be Emerson. . . . He is one of the world's voices. . . . While the radicals of Europe were revolting in 1848 against the abuses of a tyranny whose roots were in feudalism, Emerson, the great radical of America, the arch-radical of the world, was revolting against the evils whose roots were in universal suffrage. . . . He has pointed out for us in this country to what end our efforts must be bent." The essay on Robert Louis Stevenson is a trenchant but perfectly kindly analysis of the natural man, who was really a boy nature, and of his terribly artificial writing. This country is justly taunted for its easy readiness to accept painted jackdaws for peacocks and spoil honest fellows like Stevenson by flattering and overworking them. As a whole Mr. Chapman's essays are a notable contribution to the body of strong American literature, which bids fair to wind up the century with a show of first-rate work, in other departments besides this, of which any nation in Europe might be proud.

\*  
An Unfamiliar Wonderland.

*Java, the Garden of the East.* By ELIZA RUHAMAH SCIDMORE. New York: The Century Co. \$1.50.

The globe trotter will thank the author of this sprightly book for unfolding a new nook, a very garden of Eden, to his eager gaze. Away off in the Indian ocean, the little continent called by the natives Djawa, supports twenty-four millions of people within the area of New York State. It is the most densely packed population in the world, except possibly Belgium, which has 540 people to the square mile, Holland has 359, and the most crowded portion of Massachusetts has about 300. The Javanese are little known except as producers of coffee and quinine, and Sumatra is famous for its inferior but indispensable tobacco. The Dutch rule as conservatively here as in the Transvaal, their methods remain primitive, their discipline is severe to brutality and their attitude to tourists, whether on business or pleasure, is that of suspicion. "It is not the Java of the Javanese that returned travellers berate so vehemently, but the Netherlands India, and the state created and brought about by the merciless, cold-blooded rapacious Hollanders, who came half way round the world and down to the equator to acquire an empire and enslave a race, and who impose their hampering customs and restrictions upon even alien visitors." This is strong talk, but the narrative amply justifies it. When the Dutch first worked Java they for many years secured a minimum profit of 300 per cent. by destroying plantations to limit the production of spices. From 1811 to 1816 Sir Stamford Raffles introduced a more enlightened rule, native chiefs were given great estates, peasant ownership was encouraged, ports were made free to all nations and a system of justice established. When the country was ceded back to Holland at the close of the Napoleonic wars, the Dutch reverted to the main lines of their harsher land system, exacting one-fifth of produce as rent, and forced the peasants to plant one-fifth of the land in crops, to be sold to the government at fixed prices, the peasant giving one day's labor in seven. Revenue dwindled seriously, until the "culture system" was established in 1830,

by which the government backs the native in developing the land's resources, of course on highly advantageous terms to Holland. This opened a fine field for sons of wealthy Dutchmen to settle as planters, and has resulted in a vast increase of trade in sugar, tea, indigo, quinine, tin, salt and opium, the two last being close government monopolies. Although the cinchona tree was only introduced in 1850, no less than one-half of the world's supply of quinine is grown in Java. Of late years the Dutch have found it pay, in more ways than one, to treat their subject natives more humanely than in the old days. The culture system has worked wonders and the reign of monopoly and selfish coercion is approaching its end in Java as in another fair island or two.

In one intensely interesting feature Java has a pre-eminence that has not become generally known. This is her marvellous antiquities. Her ruins of seventh and eighth century Buddhist and Brahmin temples "surpass in extent and magnificence anything to be seen in Egypt and India." What this means is easier to imagine than to describe. Buried in this tropical paradise are these gorgeous proofs of a religion and an art which together wrought monumental imperishable records of sublime thought and handiwork that make the grandest piles of Christendom unimpressive by comparison. One of these temples covers the area of the Great Pyramid and its surfaces present miles of relief sculptures and hundreds of life-size statues, reproducing for our modern eyes every detail of the life of those remote enjoyers of a strangely fine civilization, and the structure has weathered the assaults of twelve centuries though put together without mortar or cement. The illustrations show these sculptures in detail, necessarily greatly reduced, and the book is filled with pictures that enable the reader to see Java and the Javanese with the author's wideawake eyes. She has made a very fascinating book about a fascinating place and people, the only drawbacks being the multifariousness of almost every page and the consequent greater need of a fuller index.

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Dickens Redivivus.

*Old Lamps for New Ones.* By CHARLES DICKENS. Edited, with an introduction, by Frederick G. Kitton. New York: New Amsterdam Book Company. \$1.25.

Nearly twenty-eight years have passed since Charles Dickens died, yet here is a genuine new book by the author of "Pickwick." There is no miracle about it except that public interest should remain so lively so long. In truth this is only a new lamp lit from the moppings of the old oil. Mr. Kitton published his bibliography of Dickens a good many years ago and thought it was complete. Recent search among the Dickens manuscripts at South Kensington has enabled him to identify these fifty or more miscellaneous articles in various journals as the work of "Boz." They comprise humorous sketches, criticisms, satires, editorials and occasional articles on all manner of topics. The Dickens touch is unmistakable, and his humane instinct in his advocacy of social reforms moves the reader to credit his racy pen with higher motives than that of making people laugh. The fact that these appeared anonymously lends emphasis to his good intent. On the other hand there is the familiar note of conceit and of a desire to appear blameless in his domestic relations. And the offensive tone of his "American Notes" shows badly and unjustifiably in his elaborate ridiculing of a book by Mr. Colman, who was sent by our government in 1847 to report on English methods of agriculture. A more gentlemanly and dignified series of familiar letters on the social life of the old landed aristocracy, who were his hosts, has never been written. The most cruel criticism that can be hurled at them is that they must have furnished momentum to the un-American craze for aping foreign luxury. It is singular that Dickens and Thackeray, themselves snobs of the first water, could not bear to see any fellow-commoner hobnobbing with live lords on equal terms. Probably no American in official or private capacity ever received heartier friendship from the great landowners of England, who were then the great capitalists and developers of agriculture, a friendship the more sincere because it furnished fountain-head information without stint for the people who were fast becoming the most dangerous competitors of the English farmer, newly hampered with free trade legislation. The eulogistic article on Banvard's Geographical Panorama of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers does not disguise the writer's surprised admiration of this American's self-painted "largest picture in the world." Someone ought to get up an article on this remarkable man and his career to match. Another paper of American interest is the amusing onslaught Dickens makes on the then king of spirit-mediums, Daniel Dunglas Home, whose

## Wanamaker's.

**Fownes' English Gloves** JUST one hundred years before this became a dry goods store they began making Fownes' gloves in England. Little wonder that they are known the world over for elegance of style. Two new numbers for spring wear for men are just here—ready to-day.

1 clasp; outseam cape; spear-point stitching in tan shades.  
1 clasp; pique capes; spear-point stitching; in light and red tans.  
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**Men's Spring Hats** THERE is a marked change of shapes this spring—the new blocks in the comfortable light-weights are all ready in the various grades. We find that Derby Hats for

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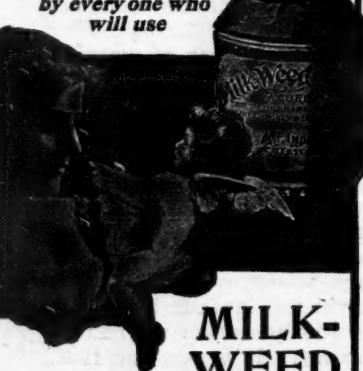
cover all points of hat goodness. All shapes, all sizes, all colors—ready.  
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second name is wrongly given as Douglas. Though born in Scotland he was regarded as an American, because he was brought here when nine years old. Dickens was a better hand at ridicule than anything like philosophic investigation, and this slashing review makes no pretence to impartiality. Old newspapers are often more interesting than new ones, and these off-hand papers revive many a subject which suggests curious reflections on the changes in a generation.

### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*The Scarlet-Veined, and other Poems.* By LUCY CLEVELAND. New York: A. D. F. Randolph Company.

If a superfluity of scolding goes for inspired eloquence and a delirious "derangement of epitaphs" makes fine poetry, this is a great book. There is no denying the fiery patriotism that glows in these really well-meant rhymes, but it obscures itself with smoke. Poor old Britain gets a merciless roasting for cowardly supineness over Armenian atrocities, but it is a rather feminine anti-climax to finish her off by calling her a donkey. It is not stated that the authoress is the literary sister of the ex-President. Probably not, as one of the family might bashfully hesitate to apostrophize him, as "Chief Executive," in the sonnet from which we pick these gems :

O Thou who waitest at the helm this hour,  
O Shaker of the Lion and the sea,  
Thou who didst fetter Anarchy's red hand,  
Thou . . . . . that knew  
Nor danger, nor dishonor, nor delay  
When the fair Right lifteth her face to sue  
For manhood's instant arm, cost what it may,  
Carve out, with Pen, a path for Cuba free,  
Oh, seize to-day thine opportunitie!

The corrected rhyme is ours. Where he of her name feared to tread, Lucy rushes in and settles, not Cuba free, but free silver. Once for all its doom is fixed, for the voice of the poetess hath spoken. It is a truly sublime "patriotic poem" and shall have free space to reach and confound the benighted, if we have to crowd out double the quantity of our own plain common sense prose.

### NATURE'S VOTE.

God's great big Golden Dollar rises daily on the dawning,  
And scatters golden plenty to Uncle Sam's vast fold,  
Tell me why this fuss on voting? God's politics are chosen!  
The darkness claims the silver, the moon that's fed from gold.

In her next volume of "other poems" we shall eagerly look for an inspired utterance on fair Luna's utility when Sol makes himself scarce, and her subtle influence on the tides and the watery order of jingle singers.

\*\*

*The Man who Was Good.* By LEONARD MERRICK. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

An effectively red-bound book, with the figure of the young lady hospital nurse on a gold background. She is the heroine, an English girl, who is duped into marriage by an actor already married. The story has nothing particularly striking, either in incident or style.

\*\*

*Man versus Mammon.* By PERCY DANIELS, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Kansas. Girard, Kans.

This little brochure comprises a petition to the legislature of Kansas, drawn up by Mr. Daniels, calling attention to the aggressions of centralized capital, the dangers to our Republic of inordinate wealth, wealth gathered by stealing not by honest toil, and pointing out and demanding a remedy. This petition was joined in by many leading Kansans, the present Governor among the rest, and was responded to by the passage of a resolution by the Legislature of Kansas about a year ago, a resolution strung in the same key as the petition and commanding the representatives of Kansas in the Congress of the United States to press an amendment to the Constitution of the United States such as would give to Congress full power to tax "inordinate" wealth, in other words impose a graduated income tax. This resolution is appended to and completes this brochure.

Now it is all very proper to tax "inordinate" wealth, indeed it is most improper not to tax it. Every citizen should bear the expenses of government in proportion to his means, in proportion to the amount of property, of wealth which he holds, uses and enjoys under the protection of government. Taxation imposed to this end justice demands, taxation imposed to any other end,

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either to impose upon the poor and relieve the rich, or tax the rich and relieve the poor of their just share of the burdens of government, burdens they should bear in proportion to their wealth, is injustice. The man with an income of ten thousand a year should pay ten times the taxation as the man with an income of one thousand. This is just. But to tax him more than ten times is to relieve the man with an income of a thousand dollars of part of his just burdens of taxation and impose such burdens upon his richer neighbor, and this is unjust, just as unjust as it is to tax the man with an income of ten thousand less than ten times as much as the man with one thousand.

It is true that taxes are now most unjustly imposed and in the interest of wealth, imposed so as to relieve the extremely wealthy of taxation at all commensurate with their wealth. It is also true that the extremely wealthy have gathered their wealth not only because of such unjust shifting of the burdens of taxation upon weaker shoulders but because they have not observed the commandment "Thou shalt not steal." And so it is said that it is only just to heavily tax the possessors of great wealth and relieve the poor, from whom such wealth has been pilfered, from the costs of government. But justice can never be done by such taxation, wealth can never in this way be restored to those from whom it is taken with any approach to justice. The man ruined by discrimination in transportation charges, the man ground down to poverty by an appreciating dollar will not be set upon his feet again, justice will not be done him by simply increasing the taxes of those who have robbed him and relieving him of such burdens. No justice can be done to the man whose business career has been wrecked through no fault of his own but by the aggressions of centralized capital save the poor justice of putting an end to those aggressions, putting an end to railroad discrimination, putting an end to our toleration of dishonest money and so enabling him to start a career anew. But this can be done and this must be done. The great need of our country is to prevent thieving not to tax the thieves of their plunder. This we strive to do in little things, this we should do in big. It is well enough to tax from the great plunderers a part of their plunder, but the great need is to prevent them from plundering.

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*Nicotiana.* By RUDOLF BAUMBACH. Edited by W. BERNHARDT. Boston : D. C. Heath & Co. 30 cents.

These five short humorous stories by the famous romancer in verse and prose are prefaced by a short autobiography and portrait. They are edited for students' use and form the latest issue in the modern language series.

#### NEW BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY makes a goodly show of spring announcements, and forecasts a steady demand for standards and the better class of new books because of the rapid increase of public libraries in remote villages as well as in large cities. It further notes that the new fiction is of higher quality, leaning toward the historical, the humorous and the short story. Religious and philosophical works show remarkably strongly, almost heading the groups that come numerically next to fiction.

D. APPLETON & CO. issue an enlarged edition of E. S. Maclay's "History of the U. S. Navy;" "Italian Literature," by Richard Garnett, in the Literatures of the World Series; "Familiar Life in Field and Forest," by F. S. Matthews; "Studies of Good and Evil," by Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard; besides a number of works in other classes, and new novels by George Moore, Maarten Maartens, Felix Gras, Maxwell Gray, George Ebers and Christie Murray.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO. announce a number of novels by popular writers, and among serious works the following : "Washington vs. Jefferson," by Moses M. Granger, a study of the opposite views which have prevailed from the beginning of the government; "Unforeseen Tendencies in Democracy," by Lawrence Godkin; "The Pilgrims in Their Three Homes, England, Holland and America," by Dr. Griffis; "Cheerful Yesterdays," a series of interesting personal reminiscences, by Col. Wentworth Higginson; the last part of the late Prof. Child's famous work on "English and Scotch Ballads," which contains a biographical essay by Prof. Kittredge. The exceedingly able magazine essays by W. J. Stillman, on "The Old Rome and the New," are collected in book-form, and another notable work is that on "French Literature of To-day," by Mlle. Yetta Blaze de Bury.

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY are bringing out a number of important works in almost every department of literature. Among them are Zola's "Paris," "The Building of the Republic," in the series, American History Told by Contemporaries, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart; "The United Kingdom," a political history, in two volumes, by Prof. Goldwin Smith, which forms a companion work to his "Outline of U. S. Political History." A new novel by Mrs. Humphrey Ward is promised soon, and others by Molly Elliot Seawell, J. Newton Baskett, Robert Herrick and H. E. Hamblen. Four volumes of "Stories of American History" are in preparation—"Spanish Discovery and Conquest," by Grace King; "Californian History and Exploration," by Charles H. Shinn; "Stories of American Pirates," by Frank R. Stockton, and "Tales of the Enchanted Isles of America," by Col. W. Higginson.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS announce two additions to the American Men of Energy Series, "Life of Franklin," by E. Robins, and of "Gen. Israel Putnam," by J. Livingston. To the Story of the Nations Series are added "The Building of the British Empire, from Elizabeth to Victoria," two volumes with contemporary illustrations. "Thirty Years of American Finance," by Alex. Dana Noyes, is a short financial history. "The Bargain Theory of Wages," by John Davidson, treats of the nobility of labor, trade unionism, and methods of payment as factors in the wage problem. "Open Mints and Free Banking," by William Brough, will invite trenchant criticism at this time.

THE lists of other houses will be noticed in future issues.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Henry George. Pp. 545. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$2.50.

THE MAN WHO OUTLIVED HIMSELF. By Albion W. Tourgée. Pp. 215. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 75 cents.

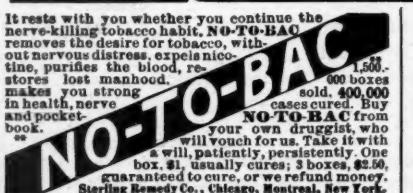
THE NEW PURITANISM. Papers by Lyman Abbott, Amory H. Bradford, Chas. A. Berry, Geo. H. Gordon, Washington Gladdon, Wm. J. Tucker. With introduction by Rossiter W. Raymond. Pp. 275. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. \$1.25.

BIRDS OF VILLAGE AND FIELD. A Bird Book for Beginners. By Florence A. Merriam. Pp. 406. Illustrated. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

NAPOLEON III AND HIS COURT. By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. Pp. 407. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

TALES OF THE CITY ROOM. By Elizabeth G. Jordan. Pp. 232. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

BAUMBACH'S NICOTIANA. With notes and a vocabulary by Dr. Wilhelm Bernhardt. Pp. 106. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30 cents.



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